1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SON

*796 622 787 The ceremony of offering the Hako was believed to bring great benefits. As the tie to be formed was a close one and likely to have a bearing on the welfare of two tribes, the selection of the man who was to be the Son was not left exclusively to the Father. His choice had to be submitted to the chiefs of his tribe for their approval. Nor did the matter end here, for the chiefs, seemingly unwilling to assume the entire responsibility of a final decision, threw the confirmation of the selection of the Son upon the supernatural, represented by the ear of corn.

[771] To be able to follow the Pawnee's thought one should keep well in mind the native belief in the reality of an invisible world accessible to man. The Ku'rahus explained that in this rite the spirit of the corn and the spirits of the assembled company must meditate together upon the proposed candidate for the Son, must consider his qualifications and his ability to meet the requirements for a successful issue of the ceremony. He said: "As we meditate we sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head." When the decision is reached "Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect, then she moves through the air on her journey to the Son, and we follow."

In this mystical journey Mother Corn "opens the way" between the land of the Fathers and that of the Children. She does more. She enters the village and passes around among the lodges of the people to that of the selected man. She goes in and touches him while he sleeps. It is the spirit of Mother Corn that touches the spirit of the man in a dream. He does not see her who has touched him, but he sees one *of the birds which belong to the feathered stem*, the eagle, the owl, the duck, or the woodpecker, for the spirits of these birds are there with the spirit of Mother Corn in the lodge of the sleeping man. If, when he awakes, he is able to recall his dream, it is because Mother Corn has "opened his mind." Therefore when the messengers of the Father's party arrive with the tidings, "Your Father is coming," the dreamer is not taken by surprise, but is ready to respond without unnecessary delay.

*796 622 The old man narrated this symbolic procedure of the ear of corn and its attendant spirits without consciousness that he was saying anything unusual or contrary to ordinary experience. His only comment was, that it was very difficult for the men of the party of the Father so to fix their minds upon the desired end as to secure its accomplishment. He referred to this difficulty several times while explaining the words and meaning of the song. When questioned as to whether the attempt was always successful, he said that when it failed the failure was always due to a lack of earnestness or sincerity on the part of the persons so fixing their minds. By this he did not mean that the men failed because they did not try hard enough to

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung at the crossing of a stream.

Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother, could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas. In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas. The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind, one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty incurred by profanely touching water.

In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation to generation.

The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid upon a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated.

The Hako ceremony seems to have been peculiarly adapted to impress the mind of the people and to win their confidence and affection. It was picturesque, varied in movement, and communal in feeling. Its songs were rhythmic and attractive, and frequently choral in form, particularly those belonging to the public ceremony, where all, young and old, joined in the melody as the feathered stems were swayed over their heads when the Ku'rahus and his assistants made the circuits of the lodge.

The teachings of the public ceremony were general in character. They emphasized, on the one hand, man's dependence on the supernatural for all the gifts of life, and on the other hand, his dependence on the family tie for the gifts of peace and happiness. The specific teachings were reserved for the Son. These began in the ritual to the Dawn (tenth ritual) on the morning of the second and third days, which prefigured the secret ceremonies of the fifth morning, when the bond of the family relation was extended beyond blood kinship through the symbolic rites which recognized the common source of life in Tira'wa atius.

Looking over the entire ceremony, it is interesting to note how older rites have had their share in the development of the Hako, and how the trend of thought among the native seers has borne them toward a conception of the brotherhood of man, a conception recognized as the noblest known to the human family.

INCIDENTAL RITUALS

COMFORTING THE CHILD

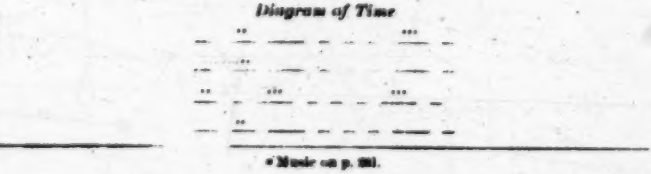
The incidental rituals could be called for and given during the public ceremony.

The three songs which belong to the first ritual have a common musical motive, but this motive is treated differently in each song so as to conform to the movement of the ceremony.

The appeal of the parents to the Ku'rahus is in the first song passed on to Kawas. It is sung by the Ku'rahus at the holy place as he waves the brown-eagle feathered stem. The words are in the nature of a prayer, the music has the swing of a lullaby.

FIRST SONG*

Diagram of Time



* Music on p. 381.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next morning were announced.

The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[a]

According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky. The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west, Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that "next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme among whom is the North-Star, Kaririwari (One-who-does-not-move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

[a] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men. Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xix.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses, using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object. Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy, he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship *Ti-rá'-wa*, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible, quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of *Ti-rá'-wa* extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie, have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his angels—and their powers are always used for good.

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

648 by a former agent, to white settlers at different places, and that finally a team became
657 frightened while drawing it, and ran away with it and pretty much destroyed it. He says the Pawnees are annoyed by the settlers, and that the licensed trader system is not well managed. He thinks there should be two, and but two, traders licensed, that the Indians may have the benefit of competition, and that a better system would be one something like that of the army settlers. He said he could not get the agency. He did not try as he knew it was impossible. It was a political race as usual between several applicants.

771 About the religious system of the Pawnees—he knew but little as he had never studied the subject. It was an element worship with medicine and conjuration. They have no term for Devil, and are very superstitious. For want of time I could not take it up further.

[p 136 (D)]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The bands were still somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the traditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in detail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any further sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.